

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 194563

70

ORIGIN EA-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-16 EUR-25 NEA-10 IO-15 ISO-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15 USIA-15 ACDA-19

OMB-01 DPW-01 /183 R

DRAFTED BY EA/LC:AFANTIPPAS:EDK

APPROVED BY EA:AWHUMMEL

INR/REA - S.A. SMITH

IO/UNP - J.KIMBALL

AF/RA - A.J. NAVEZ

NEA/RA - MR. SCHIFF

ARA/LA/PLC - J. MARTIN

ARA/LA/CAR - J. BURKE

IO - M. HERZ

EA - M. STEARNS

EA/LC - LMRIVES

----- 103376

R 291738Z SEP 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

AMEMBASSY NASSAU

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY LIMA

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY SANAA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 194563

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
INFO AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
USLO PEKING
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY SAIGON
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 194563

GENEVA ALSO FOR UNESCO DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CB, UNGA

SUBJECT: KHMER REPRESENTATION IN THE UN

1. ALL AVAILABLE EVIDENCE INDICATES THAT SOME FORMAL EFFORT WILL BE MADE BY SIHANOUK'S SUPPORTERS IN THE UNGA TO INSCRIBE THE ISSUE OF WHO SHOULD OCCUPY THE CAMBODIAN SEAT.

2. FOLLOWING WHAT HE VIEWS AS A PERSONAL VICTORY AT THE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 194563

NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE AT ALGIERS, THE PRINCE HAS ASKED THE UN SYG TO REINSTATE HIM AS THE "LEGITIMATE" REPRESENTATIVE OF CAMBODIA. CHINA HAS BEEN UNQUALIFIED IN ITS SUPPORT OF SIHANOUK AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO WORK HARD TO PERSUADE WAVERERS. IF THE PRC ITSELF DOES NOT TAKE DIRECT ACTION IN GENERATING A RESOLUTION, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE NON-ALIGNED STATES (NAC) THAT SUPPORT SIHANOUK WILL FULFILL THEIR PROMISE TO CARRY THE BALL FOR HIM. AT LEAST 20 STATES, INCLUDING CHINA AND ALBANIA, HAVE PRESENTED A FORMAL REQUEST TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL THAT A LETTER FROM SIHANOUK TO WALDHEIM, REQUESTING THAT HE BE RECOGNIZED AS THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF CAMBODIA, BE CIRCULATED AS AN OFFICIAL DOCUMENT. THIS HAS BEEN DONE. LETTER STRESSES 4TH NAC

RESOLUTION STRESSING LEGITIMACY OF SIHANOUK. OTHER SOURCES SAY THAT THE SIHANOUK SUPPORTERS INTEND TO PRESS FOR A FULL DEBATE ON CAMBODIA EVEN IF THEY FAIL TO GET A MAJORITY TO REPLACE THE GKR. WE UNDERSTAND THAT UPPER VOLTA, UNTIL RECENTLY NOT UNFRIENDLY TO THE GKR, RECOGNIZED SIHANOUK AND ATTACKED THE GKR IN ITS GA SPEECH SEPTEMBER 26. USUN REPORTS THAT THE NAC GROUP WILL MEET SEPTEMBER 28 TO DETERMINE STRATEGY.

3. A LIKELY SCENARIO THAT MAY BE FOLLOWED, SINCE THE AGENDA HAS BEEN APPROVED AND THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (BASICALLY FAVORABLE TO THE GKR) SELECTED, WOULD BE TO PUSH A RESOLUTION THROUGH THE GENERAL COMMITTEE INSCRIBING SIHANOUK'S REQUEST AS AN AGENDA ITEM. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY IS A FORMAL (AND EARLY) REQUEST FOR THE REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. (THIS WAS LAST YEAR'S TACTIC). IN 1972 AFTER LOSING IN THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE SIHANOUK'S SUPPORTERS (SENEGAL IN PARTICULAR) WERE PERSUADED THAT THEY DID NOT HAVE THE VOTES FOR A GA FIGHT, AND THEREFORE LET THE ISSUE DROP WITH ONLY SOME 15 NATIONS EXPRESSING RESERVATIONS.

4. BASED ON OUR ANALYSIS OF THE PROBABLE GA VOTE ON A RESOLUTION EXPELLING THE GKR AND SEATING SIHANOUK IT IS LIKELY THAT THERE WOULD BE A CLOSE VOTE IN THE GA WITH POSSIBLY SOME 36 ABSTENTIONS. THE VOTE COULD RUN AS FOLLOWS: FOR SIHANOUK'S GRUNK (GOUVERNEMENT ROYALE NATIONAL UNI DE KAMPUCHEA): AFGHANISTAN, ALBANIA, ALGERIA, CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 194563

BURUNDI, CAMEROON, CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, CHAD, PRC, CONGO, CUBA, DAHOMEY, DEMOCRATIC YEMEN, EGYPT, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, GABON, GAMBIA, GUINEA, GUYANA, IRAQ, KENYA, KUWAIT, LIBYA, MADAGASCAR, MALI, MALTA, MAURITANIA, MOROCCO, NIGER, OMAN, PAKISTAN, ROMANIA, SENEGAL, SOMALI REPUBLIC, SWEDEN, SUDAN, SYRIA, TOGO, TUNISIA, UGANDA, UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, TANZANIA, YUGOSLAVIA, ZAMBIA, ZAIRE, UPPER VOLTA (46).

5. AGAINST SEATING GRUNK: AUSTRALIA, AUSTRIA, BAHAMAS, BAHRAIN, BELGIUM, BHUTAN, BOLIVIA, BOTSWANA, BURMA, CANADA, COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, DENMARK, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, ECUADOR, EL SALVADOR, FIJI, GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC, GREECE, GUATEMALA, HAITI, HONDURAS, ICELAND, INDONESIA, IRAN, IRELAND, ISRAEL, ITALY, IVORY COAST, JAPAN, KHMER REPUBLIC, LESOTHO, LIBERIA, LUXEMBOURG, MALAYSIA, MEXICO, NEPAL, NETHERLANDS, NEW ZEALAND, NICARAGUA, NORWAY, PARAGUAY, PHILIPPINES, PORTUGAL, SOUTH AFRICA, SPAIN, SWAZILAND, THAILAND, TURKEY, UK, USA, URUGUAY, VENEZUELA. (53)

6. ABSTENTIONS: BULGARIA, BYELORUSSIAN SSR, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, CYPRUS, GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, HUNGARY, JORDAN, MONGOLIAN PR, POLAND, FRANCE, UKRAINIAN SSR, USSR. (12)

7. IN THE POSSIBLE ABSTENTION CATEGORY, BUT LEANING TOWARDS GRUNK: ARGENTINA, BARBADOS, JAMAICA, LEBANON, ETHIOPIA, NIGERIA, PERU, PANAMA, SIERRA LEONE, SRI LANKA, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC (12).

8. IN THE POSSIBLE ABSTENTION CATEGORY, BUT LEANING TOWARDS THE GKR: BRAZIL, CHILE, FINLAND, GHANA, INDIA, LAOS, MALAWI, MAURITIUS, QATAR, RWANDA, SAUDI ARABIA, SINGAPORE. (12)

9. SHOULD ITEM BE INSCRIBED, DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT LITTLE CAN BE DONE AMONG THE EASTERN BLOC TO IMPROVE ITS POSITION EVEN THOUGH ALL (IN ABSTENTION CATEGORY) HAVE RELATIONS AND EMBASSIES IN THE GKR. THE SAME APPLIES TO FRANCE. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE SOME EFFORT SHOULD BE EXPENDED WITH THE JORDANIANS AND CYPRIOTS. KEY GROUPS ARE LATTER TWO CATEGORIES OF ABSTENTIONS. HERE SO MANY VARIABLES ARE AT WORK IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT PRECISE
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 194563

VOTING PATTERN. FOR EXAMPLE, IF THE NEW LAO COALITION GOVERNMENT COMES INTO POWER AT THE TIME OF THE VOTE, THE PATHET LAO MAY FORCE AT LEAST AN ABSTENTION. IN ARGENTINA'S CASE, THE GKR ESTABLISHED RELATIONS JUST BEFORE THE ELECTION OF FORMER PRESIDENT CAMPORA, BUT THE GKR HAS BEEN UNABLE TO GET AGREEMENT FOR ITS PROPOSED AMBASSADOR. CHILE, UNDER ALLENDE, WAS A STRONG SUPPORTER OF SIHANOUK, BUT WE ARE UNSURE THAT THE NEW REGIME WILL TAKE IT UPON ITSELF TO VOTE FOR THE GKR. BRAZIL HAS REFUSED TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH THE GKR THOUGH SYMPATHETIC TO ITS CAUSE. ETHIOPIA SEEMS SYMPATHETIC TO THE GKR BUT MILITANT ARAB/AFRICAN PRESSURE PLUS THE "KING'S CLUB" RELATIONSHIP MAY PUSH THE EMPEROR TO SIDE WITH SIHANOUK. WE ARE UNCERTAIN ABOUT INDIA AND DO NOT WISH TO COUNT UPON ITS DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH THE GKR AND TRADITIONAL LEGALISTIC POSTURE TO KEEP IT IN THE PLUS COLUMN. FINLAND MAY FEEL CONSTRAINED TO REMAIN NEUTRAL. GHANA HAS ALSO BEEN TALKING TO THE GKR BUT HAS REFUSED TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS. IRAN, ALSO PRESSED BY THE GKR TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS, HAS NOT ACTED ON THE REQUEST AND MAY WAFFLE IN ITS POSITION. MEXICO AND VENEZUELA AS MEMBERS OF GENERAL COMMITTEE WOULD TEND TO VOTE TO INSCRIBE THE QUESTION ON PRINCIPLE ALL ENTITIES SHOULD BE HEARD BY UN. WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL THAT THIS ATTITUDE DOES NOT CARRY OVER TO SUBSEQUENT CRUNCH VOTE IN GA. THE IVORY COAST PERMITTED A KHMER MISSION TO BE OPENED AND THEN REFUSED TO RECEIVE AN AMBASSADOR. LIBERIA HAS ALSO BEEN WARM IN ITS RECEPTION OF GKR REPS BUT HAS NOT FOLLOWED THROUGH WITH ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS. WE FEEL THAT MAURITIUS WILL FOLLOW THE LEAD OF INDIA BUT COULD WELL BE INFLUENCED TO VOTE FOR THE GKR IN ANY EVENT. PANAMA,

PERU AND SRI LANKA MAY BE INCLINED TO VOTE FOR SIHAOUK AS PART OF THEIR EFFORTS TO PROVE THEIR THIRD WORLD ANTI-US CREDENTIALS, BUT EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO CANCEL THEM OUT AS ABSTENTIONS. OMAN, THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO AND YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC MAY BE INCLINED TOWARDS SIHANOUK BUT PERHAPS COULD BE INFLUENCED TO ABSTAIN. THE OTHER PERSIAN GULF STATES AND SAUDI ARABIA SHOULD BE APPROACHED, PERHAPS WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF JAPAN, STRESSING THE COMMUNIST BACKING OF THE GRUNK. RWANDA, WE BELIEVE, TENDS TOWARDS THE GKR AND HAS REFUSED CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 194563

RECEIVE A GRUNK MISSION AT THE PRESIDENTIAL LEVEL, BUT MAY FEEL TOO EXPOSED TO VOTE YES PARTICULARLY SINCE MOBUTU'S SWITCH TO SIHANOUK AT THE NAC IN ALGIERS. THE BHUTAN DELEGATION WILL PROBABLY FOLLOW INDIAN POSITION. SINGAPORE, THE KHMER DEL FEELS, DESPITE ITS POSITIVE ATTITUDE AT THE ALGIERS NAC AND ITS EMBASSY IN PHNOM PENH, MAY ABSTAIN. SOME REINFORCEMENT MAY BE NECESSARY TO GAIN A VOTE FOR GKR.

10. IF INSCRIPTION OCCURS DEPT WILL SEND INSTRUCTIONS TO ACTION ADDRESSEES TO APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS, AS WELL AS UN REPS, AS APPROPRIATE AND TO INDICATE USG BELIEF THAT PRO-SIHANOUK VOTE WOULD WEAKEN THE UN SYSTEM. VOTING FOR AN EXTERNALLY SUPPORTED EXILE GOVERNMENT COULD SET A PRECEDENT DETRIMENTAL TO THE INTERESTS OF MANY GOVERNMENTS IN THE UN. WE THINK SEATING A GOVERNMENT NOT PHYSICALLY PRESENT IN THE COUNTRY AND NOT CONTROLLING A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION ESTABLISHES A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT.

11. WHEN INSTRUCTIONS ARE SENT, POSTS MAY DRAW AS APPROPRIATE ON FOLLOWING: THE GKR, NOW HOLDING ITS OWN MILITARILY WITHOUT US AIR SUPPORT, NOT ONLY CONTROLS THE CAPITAL OF PHNOM PENH BUT MOST OF THE OTHER URBAN CENTERS AND AT LEAST 60 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION. THE REFUGEE POPULATION UNDER GKR CONTROL AMPLY TESTIFIES AS TO THE SYMPATHIES OF THE PEOPLE IN THE WAR ZONE. AS A COUNTER TO RECENTLY STATED PRC POSITION THAT US WAS WRONG FOR SUPPORTING LON NOL BECAUSE HE WAS CIA CREATURE AND "US TROOPS HAD ENGENDERED THE CONFLICT," POSTS SHOULD RESPOND THAT SIHANOUK LEGALLY OUSTED WITH NO US ASSISTANCE. MOREOVER, VC/NVA ATTACKED CAMBODIA A FULL 30 DAYS BEFORE MAY 1970 INCURSIONS AND NORTH VIETNAMESE/PRG REPS AS WELL AS CHINESE HAD ABANDONED NEGOTIATIONS WITH KHMER GOVERNMENT IN WEEKS FOLLOWING SIHANOUK'S DISPOSITION AND BEFORE US/ARVN SWEEP. INCIDENTALLY, 110-MEMBER ITU CONFERENCE APPROVED GKR CREDENTIALS WITHOUT DEBATE SEPTEMBER 21.

12. FOR USUN: PLEASE SHARE FOREGOING WITH APPROPRIATE FRIENDLY DELS. IF PROPOSAL FOR INSCRIPTION IMMINENT YOU SHOULD, OF COURSE, ENCOURAGE THE KHMER DEL TO CALL UPON

ITS FRIENDS TO LOBBY ON ITS BEHALF AMONG THE COUNTRIES
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 194563

WHO MIGHT WAVER. KISSINGER

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 SEP 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE194563
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EA/LC:AFANTIPPAS:EDK
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730963/abqceiul.tel
Line Count: 279
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24-Aug-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <16-Nov-2001 by elyme>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: KHMER REPRESENTATION IN THE UN
TAGS: PFOR, CB, UNGA
To: USUN N Y
KINGSTON
NASSAU
NEW DELHI
KATHMANDU
JIDDA
AMMAN

BEIRUT
MANAMA
LIMA
MEXICO
LAGOS
SANAA
ADDIS ABABA
ABIDJAN
PORT LOUIS
FREETOWN
COLOMBO
BUENOS AIRES
SANTIAGO
SINGAPORE
CARACAS
KIGALI
MONROVIA
HELSINKI
TEHRAN
PORT OF SPAIN
ACCRA
BRIDGETOWN
BRASILIA INFO PHNOM PENH
TOKYO
JAKARTA
PARIS
MOSCOW
BANGKOK
VIENTIANE
PANAMA
PEKING
GENEVA
SAIGON
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005